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621 of the principal streets runs continuously on the same [184] level through the two *barrios* and the pair are much alike and co-operate for the carnival and for other *fiestas*.

The Tepoztecos are conscious of the part played by these geographic features. During an annual *fiesta* an [536] actor impersonating their eponymous "king," El Tepozteco, recites a traditional rôle in Nahuatl in the course of which, as he is defying the besieging armies of other neighboring villages, he says, "*Ica hueloncan* [539] *nechmoyohualotica nahui no tepe, chicome tlatelli, chicome tlacomolli, ihuan chicome tlaltemimilolli*" ("Here I am surrounded by my four mountains, seven hills, seven wells and seven stony hillsides"). This is clearly a reference, in topographic terms, to the *barrios*.

The word *barrio* is frequently translated "ward," but "ward" does not correctly suggest the nature of the unit. In the first place the *barrio* is not a political unit. For purposes of municipal government the town has been divided into seven *demarcaciónes*. It is plain that the *barrios* have been the general pattern for the creation of the *demarcaciónes*, but the boundaries of the two sets of units do not coincide. People do not know what *demarcación* they live in; many are probably ignorant that such an artificial unit exists. In the second place, while one becomes a member of a "ward," as we know it, merely by going and living in that area, one may not in this way become a member of a *barrio*. Membership in the *barrio* is, generally speaking, hereditary. In most cases people live on the

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other hand, is the most clearly secular *fiesta*. This is because it is organized around no symbol of group sentiment. There is practically no commemorative element. Once perhaps there was. The *Huehuenches*, the masked figures that leap for hours in the *plaza* and constitute the traditional conduct appropriate for the occasion, had a meaning,[1] but today they do not. It is done "for pleasure," and the behavior found pleasurable is of the simplest kind—merely an endless leaping up and down to a single strain of traditional music. It is suggestive of the tendency of holy days to become holidays that it is *los correctos* who manage the carnival, while the more primitive *tontos* have the largest share in the *fiestas* of the *santos*.

The *Altepe-ilhuitl*[2]—the "day of the pueblo"—is another *fiesta* in which, to the folk, the church is not concerned.[3] It is much like the carnival; there is the same eating and drinking and buying and selling in the *plaza*. But the ancient ritual still observed revives a symbol of the group and recalls, in a degenerate form, the ancient glory of the village. A man assuming the rôle of the semi-mythical leader of the Tepoztecos, defies the forces of the enemy *pueblos*,[4] and defends the ancient citadel against attack. This *fiesta* is, indeed, the most truly patriotic holiday of Tepoztlán,

[1] See p. 104.

[2] See the description in the next chapter, p. 116.

[3] Although the ancient pagan festival has been incorporated with a Catholic holy day.

[4] These are Cuernavaca, Yautepec, Tlayacapan, Huaxtepec, and Tlalmanalco. Is Tlalmanalco extinct? It does not appear on the map.

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paper rosettes, wax flowers, and garlands of *chicaltzo*. People come into the church to light a candle at the altar and to hang a garland on it. Just outside the church under the *enramada* stand two rows of little girls, dressed in white with white crowns and bearing staffs adorned with bells and ribbons. They are *Las Pastoras*, and they strike their staffs on the flags and sing a traditional song of praise to El Señor de Ixcatepec.

In a wide circle at one side of the *enramada*, *Los Apaches* from San Juan and from Santiago dance to their armadillo-shell guitars. At intervals they sing a song to *La Guadalupana*. There is the rattle of a small drum and the high note of a metal flute. *Los Moros* from Santo Domingo enter the churchyard gate. They come doing their little skipping step, to suggest men on horseback. The five Moors, with their helmets, flounced skirts, and black goggles, and the four Christians, in plumed hats and short skirts, weave back and forth in a double row, clashing *machetes* as they come. On the other side of the *enramada* they perform the acted and spoken drama of the struggle between the Moors and the Christians. This takes about five hours. Crowds of people watch them, and other crowds watch *Los Apaches* and *Las Pastoras*.

The sacred entertainment takes place within the churchyard; the secular entertainment is going on outside. There are several ballad-singers, each with his guitar and his attentive audience. Other men are gambling, squatted around the board. There are rows

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August 4.—The *fiesta* of the village of Santo Domingo takes place on this date. *Los Moros* dance before their own *santo.* 796* [535]

August 5.—The *chirimía* plays on the chapel of Santa Cruz. [533]

August 6.—The *chirimía* continues to play in Santa Cruz; it is the *fiesta* of San Salvador, the patron saint of the *barrio.* [776]

September 8 (about).—Today is *Altepe-ilhuitl* ("*fiesta* of the *pueblo*"), commemorative of El Tepozteco, the legendary eponymous king of the Tepoztecos in the days before the Conquest. Men enact the successful defense of the temple on the cliff against the seven attacking towns of the valley. In the late afternoon a tall wooden tower is built in the *plaza.* This represents the *teocalli.* On this climbs a man representing El Tepozteco and others taking the parts of his fighting men. They wear red-and-yellow tunics and feather headdresses. They beat drums and the *tepenaztli.* Seven men, riding on seven *burros*, come to attack the *teocalli* and are driven off with arrows. El Tepozteco delivers a traditional defiance in Nahuatl, and the attackers reply with similar set speeches.[1] 527 536 [773] [292] [533]

September 28.—The *chirimía* plays on the roof of the chapel of San Miguel, and the women of that *barrio* grind corn for the *tamales;* tomorrow is their *fiesta.* 796* [533]

September 29.—This is the day of the *fiesta* of the *barrio* of San Miguel.

[1] See Carleton Beals' article in *Mexican Life.*

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533 For these reasons an attempt was made to collect such songs. Because of circumstances to be described [114] it was difficult to obtain the ritual songs; those obtained are no more than a sample. The social songs of ballad type that were collected, on the other hand, probably include nearly all of this sort locally produced and in current favor at the time of the investigation.[1] A collection resulted of twenty-seven songs, including almost two thousand lines.

The songs in this collection easily fall into two very different types, which correspond in general with a distinction between public and private music. The songs of the former group are the traditional chants that accompany some of the religious dances. All local public songs today in Tepoztlán are a part of the ceremonies of the church. They have their prose complement in the *relaciónes*, the texts spoken to accompany *Los Moros*, the religious dance-drama previously described.[2] These ritual songs are entirely anonymous

[126] [1] The writer first began to take down songs as he heard them sung. Later he found that one of the two best-known singers in Tepoztlán knew all the songs in current use. Some he had written down in a copy-book; some he dictated to the writer. At many later social occasions the writer never heard sung a local song which he had not already recorded from the collection of this one leading singer. There is no question as to the local nature of the songs. The ritual songs are used only for certain local ceremonies. The ballad songs that are local are notorious. Not only do they often contain local terms and references, but the music of northern Morelos is apparently of a distinct type. On hearing a few measures [177] a singer will exclaim, "Oh, that is entirely *morelense*." Besides the local songs many songs imported from other parts of Mexico are sung.

[537] [2] The prose text accompanying *Los Moros* was not collected. The many versions throughout Mexico are similar. One is printed in Gamio, *La población del valle de Teotihuacan*, II, 333 ff. *Relaciónes*, some in Spanish and some in Nahuatl, from a *pueblo* in Morelos, are published in Elfego Adan, art., "Las

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and probably in most cases ancient. They were probably written by early priests and especially devout natives. They are fixed and permanent. They change little, and new examples do not readily appear. Their tendency is, no doubt, to diminish, as elements of ritual are lost. Often they are in the keeping of only a few, even a single, individual. When the time comes to instruct a group of singers in these songs, such a *maestro* teaches them orally, line by line. There is some reluctance to expose their content casually; they tend to become somewhat esoteric. They are traditional, sacred, ceremonial, public; in meaning they are one with the mass, with religious responses. But they are entirely local, not in type, for the type is widespread, but in specific content.

They are religious hymns of praise of the type generally known as *alabanzas*.[1] The object of adoration is the Christ, Mary, the cross, or a particular *santo*. Some rehearse the episodes involving the birth of Jesus; others describe the Passion. Often the phraseology is taken from Catholic liturgy. But the songs sung by *Los Pastores*, the boys who dance and sing on Christmas Eve and on Twelfth Night, employ a more spontaneous language of naïve poetry. A few stanzas

danzas de Costetelco," pp. 135-94. The prose text accompanying the ritual of "El Teposteco," recited on the day Altepe-ilhuitl, is apparently the only traditional public text not connected with the church.

[1] Like the secular ephemeral songs about to be described, local *alabanzas* are sometimes printed on cheap leaflets. A collection of such hymns is described in Mariano Silva y Aceves, art., "La colección folklorico de la biblioteca del Museo Nacional," pp. 269-320. See also Nuñez y Dominguez, art., "The Alabado and Alabanzas," pp. 12-17.

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APPENDIX B

TEXT OF *RELACION*

[The following is a part of the Nahuatl text of the *relación*, used at the *fiesta* Altepe-ilhuitl in September, which is spoken by the actor representing "El Tepozteco." A somewhat different version, including a short reply made in turn by each of the attacking *pueblos*, has been collected and published by Robelo.[1] The first line of the following extract is the text as I collected it, suffering from the degeneration of long traditional use and the errors of the collector. The second line is the text as "restored" by Mr. John H. Cornyn, and the third line is Mr. Cornyn's translation. Mr. Cornyn says that the text was composed in the sixteenth century "on the model of the pre-Conquest Aztec metrical poetry (and) is written in the trochaic meter." He says also that "the Tepozteco or Lord of Tepoztlán accompanied the wizards and wonderworkers of Cuernavaca summoned to Mexico City by Moctezuma II, in the hope that they might prevent the arrival of the Spanish invaders to Tenochtitlan. He was one of the first converts to Christianity. For this reason the four cities mentioned in the text, so tradition says, rose against him; but, with the help of the Virgin, he defeated them and brought their lords and nobles into the Catholic fold. This incident was taken advantage of by Fr. Domingo de la Asunción, first missionary to Tepoztlán, to convert the heathen autumn festival into a Christian feast with its accompanying miracle play to replace the old ritual." The notes which follow the text were also kindly furnished by Mr. Cornyn.—R. R.]

Aquin anmehuatin nican anhuallahque ahueli
Aquin amehuantin nican anhuallaque[2] [*o-huallaque*]? *Ahuel*[3] [*ca amo*]
Not even

Who [are] you [who] have come here?

[1] Art., "Diccionario de mitología Nahoa," pp. 228–34.

[2] *An-huallaque* for *o-huallaque*. The poets frequently left out the sign of the preterite.

[3] *Ahueli* is dialectic for *ca amo*, "not even."

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527 *antetlahpalchque; zan anhual cahcalactahque que anitzquintototin*
536 *antetlahpaloque; zan anhualcahcalactaque que' antiitzcuintototontin*
539 did you give greetings; you came introducing yourselves like little dogs.

quen huelima niahuia,
Quen' huelimanniahuia,
What time is this right now when I am enjoying myself,

nipahqui, nicochi, cenca antecochizolohque;
nipahpaqui, 'huan nicochi? Cenca antecochzoloque;
when I am happy, and [when] I am sleeping? You have completely ruined [my] sleep;

cenca huel ante cochopahzolohque.
cenca huel antecochpahzoloque.
you have deeply troubled [my] sleep.

Nicno chicahua noyollo!
Nic-chicahua in noyollo![1]
I strengthen my heart [take courage]!

Maxihuala, tehuatl in ti, Cuahnahuacatl!
Ma xihuallauh, tehuatl in ti Cuahnahuacatl!
Come forward, thou of Cuernavaca!

tlein ipampa tinechtemohua?
Tlein ipampa in ti-nechtemohua?
Why dost thou come to seek me?

quemach huelima nican nicno-ilhuiquixtililia,
right now when I am here celebrating my *fiesta.*

quemach huelincuac nican nicno-ilhuitomililia
Quenmach hueli icuac nican nicno-[i]lhuitomililia
Is it possible [you come] right now when I am remembering

[1] *Nic-chicahua in noyollo.* The text is barbarous, influenced by the Spanish construction. There is no necessity for the repetition in *nicno* and *noyollo.* The exact translation of the text, as given above, is: "I fortify this heart of mine." The classical poet would have agglutinated the expression thus: *Nino yol-chica-*

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527
536
539

yehuatzin Ichpochtzintli Maliatzine
in yehuatzin Ichpochtzintli Maliaztin-e-e[2]
her the Virgin Holy Mary [who]

nican nechmomaquilihtica no-ayochicahuiliz[3]
nican nechmoyecmaquilihtica in noayochicahualiz
is here giving me fully my essential strength

ihuan no-ayotlahpalihuiz?
ihuan in no ayotlapalihuiz?
and my valor?

Mochicahua noyollo.
Nicchicahua in noyollo.
I strengthen my heart.

Maxihuala, tehuatl in ti, Yahtepecatl,
Maxihuallauh, tehuatl in ti Yahtepecatl!
Come forward, thou of Yautepec!

tlein ipampa tinechtemohua?
Tlein ipampa in ti nechtemohua,
Why dost thou seek me,

Ica hueloncan nechmoyohualotica
ca hueloncan nechmoyohualotica
[where] are surrounding me here

nahui notepe, chicome tlatelli, chicome tlacomolli,
nahui in notepe, in chicome tlahtlatelli, in chicome tlacomolli
my four mountains, the seven hills, the seven wells

---

hua ("I myself heart-fortify"); e.g., from the *Cantares mexicanos: Nino yol-nonotza campa ni-cuiz yectli ahuiaca xochitl* ("I myself heart-consult—meditate—where I shall gather beautiful-sweet-scented flowers").

[2] *Maliatzin-e-e:* The vocative *e*, pronounced long, often served as a complete metric foot, thus *e-e*.

[3] *Aye*, contraction for *ayotl*, the watery substance, the essence of anything. Water, the gift of the Tlaloes, was essential for all vegetable growth; so *ayotl* came to have the secondary meaning of "essential," which it has in the text.

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527 *ihuan chicome tlamimilolli;*
'huan chicome tlaltemimilolli;[1]
536 and [the] seven stony hillsides;
539 *no-ayochicahualiz ihuan no-ayotlahpalihuiz?*
in no-ayochicaualiz 'huan no-ayotlapalihuiz?
they are my valor and my essential strength?

Nicnochicahua noyollo!
Nic-chicahua in noyollo!
I fortify my heart!

Maxihuala, tehuatl ti Tlayecapanecatl!
Ma xihuallauh in ti Tlayecapanecatl!
Come forward, thou of Tlayacapan!

tlein ipampa tinechtemohua?
Tlein ipampa in ti-nechtemohua?
Why dost thou seek me?

Cahuel nelli queh oquimohtlahui yehuatzin,
Ca-uel-nelli queh oquimo'talhui[2] *in yehuatzin,*
It is quite true as she, the aunt, said who shines

te ahuitzin, ompa ilhuicacxitoni,
te-ahuitzin,[3] *ompa ilhuicac-xitoni,*
there in the heavens,

[1] *Tlalte-mimilolli*, the rough, broken hill- or mountain-side; *tlaltetl*, "earth-stone," a ball of earth, clay, conglomerate, or volcanic matter found in abundance on the mountain slopes of the valley of Mexico; *mimiloa*, "to extend," "to increase," "to roll."

[2] *Mo'talhui; italhui*, "to speak," "to say," "to explain."

[3] *Te-ahuitzin*, the aunt (in general), substituted for *te-ci*, the aunt of one's grandparents. Teci was the ancestor of gods and men and the antecessor of Our Lady of Guadalupe at Tepeyac (Guadalupe). As the wife of the fire-god, in the older Mexican mythology, she was the goddess of birth and fertility and the ruler, like her husband, of the three divisions of the universe, the superterrestrial (all above the earth); the terrestrial (on the earth), and the subterrestrial (below the earth). Teci was the "hare in the moon" and, by metathesis, the moon herself, who assumed all the attributes of the goddess. When the grain was gathered in, the Mexican people held a great festival in (September) in honor of Teci (identified with the moon). The *Tepeuleo* play seems to have been written to

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metztli oquimoxopehpechtihtzino.
meztli oquimoxopechtihtzino.[1]
she, the moon, has made her dwelling [foundations].

matlactli ihuan ome cicitlaltin
Matlactli 'huan ome cicitlaltin
Twelve stars she has

oquimo xochi-icpacuiltitzino.
-qui-mo-xoch'-icpac-cuiltitzino.
[like] flowers placed on her head.

omotlacempanahuilli ompa ilhuicac;
omotlacempanahuilli ompan in ilhuicac;
She has surpassed, there in the sky, all;

ihuan nican tlalticpac;
ihuan nican in tlalticpac;
and here on earth;

ihuan nohuiampa cemanahuac.
ihuan nohuiampa cemanáhuac.
and everywhere in the universe.

Maxihuala, Tehuatl in ti-Huaxtepecatl!
Ma xihuallauh,[2] *tehuatl in ti, Huaxtepecatl!*
Come forward, thou of Huaxtepec!

---

take the place of this old autumn festival. The reference in the text is to the old heathen belief of the "old aunt" or ancestor, Teci, the moon, holding her court in the sky, amid the stars. Teci was frequently identified with Chicome-xochitl ("Seven-Flowers"), the goddess of birth, who had her home among the stars. This is probably the reference, in the text, to the seven flowers and the seven stars. The Indians associated the Virgin with the moon.

[1] *Oquimoxopechtihtzino* (rev. form), "has made her foundation," that is, all that lies beneath her, over which she rules or has dominion. *Xopechtli*, "foundation," is verbalized by the suffixing of *-tia*, "to make," and the prefixing of *mo*, for "one's self." As verb it takes the objective pronoun *qui* = "has-it-for-herself-foundation-made."

[2] *Ma xihuallauh*, imperative of *huallauh*, "to come toward." This word is frequently written incorrectly because, in ordinary conversation, the *uh-termination* is not pronounced. This *-uh* formed one of the poetic licenses of the Aztec poets, who pronounced it or not according to the necessities of the meter.

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527 *tlein ipampa tinechtemohua?*
536 *Tlein ipampa in ti-techtemohua?*
539 Why dost thou seek me; at this

quemach huelima; quemach huilihcuac;
quemmach in huelimman; quemmach in huel-icuac;
very moment; just at this time;

nican nicno—ilhuiquixtililia;
nican nicno—[i]lhuiquixtililia;
is it possible—when I am celebrating my *fiesta;*

nican nicno-ilhuitomililia;
nican nicno'lhuitomililia;
when I am remembering the year-day;

nicnotlatlanamictililia nonantzin,
nicno tlahtlanamictililia in nonantzin,
when I am remembering my mother,

ichpochchichiltzintli ihuan
Ichpochchichitzintli ihuan
the roseate Virgin and

techalchi centeconetzin cencateoyotica,
te-chalchi-centeconetzin, cenca-yecteoyotica,
the precious only son, altogether divine,

yectililoni icatzinco in Teotl
in yectililoni icatzinco-[i]n Teotl
perfect as God

te-Tahtzin, in Teotl te-Piltzin ihuan in Teotl Teayotzin,
in te-Tatzin, Teotl in te-Piltzin, ihuan Teotl, te-Ihyotzin,
the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost,

quemach omique ilhuicac ihuan nican tlalticpac,
quemmach-ami in ilhuicac ihuan nican in tlalticpac,
ever blessed in heaven and here on earth,

ihuan nicnohuian cemanahuactli.
ihuan icnohuian cemanahuac.
and also everywhere in the universe.

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Nicnochicahua noyollo!
Nic-chicahua in noyollo!
I fortify my heart!

Maxihuala, ti Tlalmanacatl!
Ma xihuallauh, in ti Tlamanalcatl!
Come forward, thou from Tlalmanalco!

tlein ipampa tinechtemohua?
Tlein ipampa in ti-nech temohua?
Why dost thou seek me?

Maxihualacan, anmonochtin!
Ma xihualcan, anmo-nochtin!
Come forward, all of you!

xic-caquiqui tlein huel notenyo, notlahtol.
Xic-caqui-qui tlein-huel in notenyo, in notlahtol.[1]
Come to hear how great is my fame, my majesty.

Nepa ye huehca, canin anahuiaya anpahpactaya;
Nepa ye huecapa canin in an-ahahuia, an-pahpactiaya;
Far over there where you gloried [in your power];

[1] *Tenyo*, contraction of *tenyotl*, "fame": *tlatolli*, "word," and, in a secondary sense, "fame," "authority," "majesty." *N'amech*, "I from you"; *hual-anilli'on*, *anilia-tia*, "to cause to take or bring" (with *hual*, "toward"); *on*, "here, from there": "I have taken from you there and brought [them] here or caused them to be brought here, the *tlalpanhuehuetl* and the *tlalpanteponaztli*." The former, as the war drum, which could be heard for five miles, was the symbol of national power and valor in battle; the latter was symbolical of the social side of life. It was the favorite musical instrument of the poets, song composers, and musicians of the courts of the kings of Mexico and Texcoco. The taking of these drums from the cities that made war on the Tepozteco symbolized their defeat in war and the disruption of their social life. The poem closes with the command of the Tepozteco to the court musicians to bring forth the war drum and beat the war music (with its accompanying war chant), thus proclaiming the victory of the Tepozteca and the humiliation of the warring cities. The *panhuehuetl* was a large upright drum; and the *tlal-panhuehuetl* was so called because it rested on the ground or floor.

The accentuation of words was somewhat different in the valley of Mexico from that of outlying Nahuatl territory. In the valley every word was accentuated on the penultimate; and the long compound words carried the accent regularly on every second syllable thereafter. This gave a succession of trochees and made the trochaic the natural Nahuatl meter.

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527 *canin amo centlamachtihtaya,*
536 *canin ammo [anmo]—centlamachtiaya,*
539 where you had your pleasures; where you had your recreations,

amech hual anilihten anmotlalpanhuehuetl,
n'amech-hual-anilit'on anmo-tlalpanhuehuetl,
I took from you your war drum,

ihuan anmotlalteponaz.
ihuan anmotlalteponaz.
and your teponaztli.

Nicnochicahua noyollo!
Nic-chicahua in noyollo!
I fortify my heart!

Maxiquin hualtzotzonilican in pinahuiz!
Ma xi-quin-hualtzotzonilican in pinahuiz!
Beat for them [on the drum] their shame [of having been conquered]!

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

No one attends all fiestas, but all attend some. Widows and older women are known to be *muy fiestera* and habitually attend as many fiestas as possible. The very poor tend to participate in the fiestas of other barrios and other villages, whereas the well-to-do are more careful to attend the religious services held in the central church. Children especially like to attend fiestas and beg to accompany their mothers or aunts. The sharp drop in school attendance during certain fiesta times is a chronic complaint of the school. Tepoztecans also frequent the fairs of Chalma, Jiutepec, Tepalzingo, Tlayacapan, and Mazatepec. Some go to buy or sell, but others go purely for diversion.

The establishment and increasing popularity of many national and patriotic holidays are making for a new type of diversion in the village. These occasions differ from the traditional fiestas, in that they are organized by the school staff and are carried out by the children. They consist of plays, dances, recitations, speeches in explanation of the holidays, and singing of national songs. Parades of school children are also becoming familiar events during the year. These celebrations are liked and well attended, and are becoming more and more a significant part of local life. Other contributions of the school to local entertainment are occasional dances and *kermeses*, at which food and drinks are sold and games played to raise money for various school needs. These activities are enjoyed by the young people, but attendance is generally small because of the resistance of the older generation to modern ballroom dancing; they look upon it as immoral, even when supervised. The school organizes occasional excursions for the children, but since these involve some expense many parents do not permit their children to participate. A literary and dramatic group was once organized in the school, but it was short lived because of local criticism and gossip.

Perhaps the next most common form of diversion is to go to Cuernavaca on one pretext or other. On Sundays, groups of young men take the bus to Cuernavaca where they spend the day walking about, playing pool, drinking in the *cantinas*, and visiting with prostitutes. Other men go to Cuernavaca for secret rendezvous with widows or married women from Tepoztlán. Women and girls go to Cuernavaca to buy or sell things at the market and to look at the store windows. A few of the more citified girls go to Cuernavaca to attend the movies and to buy the latest fashion magazines. Although it is impossible to estimate the effect of the pressure of this small but sophisticated tourist center on Tepoztlán, it is certain that it plays a strong role in providing a source of diversion and temporary personal freedom.

Sports as a form of popular diversion are limited. The traditional cockfights are all but gone and the *jaripeo* (rustic rodeo), although still liked, is declining because of the lack of skill and interest on the part of young men. Hunting is seldom indulged in as a sport, and even less so as a source of food supply. Those who are hard pressed to earn a living find it more profitable to spend the slack seasons working as peons for others. Singing and serenading at night is still popular among young men and is a source of pleasure for most villagers.

Organized sports or games were first introduced in Tepoztlán in 1922 as a con-

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

two tables and the other with three. Gambling has not developed to any marked degree, and consists of small occasional bets. Despite the pessimistic evaluations of the older people there is no evidence that the presence of the poolrooms has encouraged vice or has helped to develop any new bad habits. Rather it seems to have provided a harmless and much needed diversion for the young men.

Shortly after the road was built, a man from Mexico City attempted to establish a cabaret in Tepoztlán providing "hostesses," dancing, and drinking. The boys and young men responded with vigor, using such desperate methods as stealing from their parents or selling chickens to raise the necessary money. The adults were aroused and drove out the owner and his staff and have managed to prevent any such new establishments. At the present time there are two *cantinas* for drinking purposes only. Before 1926 the men of the village drank punch, pure alcohol, and *mezcal*. Since the road there has been an increase in beer and *tequila* drinking, and the "Cuba Libre" has been introduced.

Tepoztecans have always been strong drinkers, but there are fewer habitual drunkards here than in some of the surrounding villages. From 1935 to 1938 there was more drinking than there is today because alcohol was much cheaper. Within the last few years, alcohol has risen in price from 40 centavos to 5 pesos per liter. The prohibitive cost of alcohol has been responsible, in part, for the return to the use of pulque. In 1942 a *pulquería* was opened in the plaza. "Soft" drinks such as Coca-Cola, lemonade, and other carbonated drinks are also sold in the village.

In 1939, moving pictures were shown for the first time. Movie equipment was installed in the school and there were nightly performances. After one month the entrepreneur moved out because of the small attendance. Since then, there have been two or three other unsuccessful attempts. To most Tepoztecans the admission charge of 30 to 50 centavos is prohibitive.

From time to time a puppet show reaches Tepoztlán and runs for about a week. This, together with several school plays each year, comprises the theatrical entertainment. In 1943, there were no radios in Tepoztlán; their costliness and the absence of electricity ruled them out.[18] However, there are 44 victrolas in the village. Thirty of these belong to families in the three larger barrios and the others are distributed in each of the smaller ones.

In the past two years the church has endeavored to take a more active part in providing leisure-time activities for Tepoztecans. The Acción Católica has been greatly strengthened and its membership extended. Different age groups within it have separate meetings and elect officers. The activities include singing, presenting religious pageants and plays, attending funerals, celebrating saints' days, and receiving instruction in various subjects, both religious and secular. It also provides religious reading matter and organizes religious pilgrimages. Money-raising activities continue throughout the year through collections, *kermeses*, and even public dances, although the Acción has forbidden its female members to dance. Once or

[18] In 1948, several families owned battery-operated radios and some people were regular listeners to dramatic and humorous programs originating in Mexico City.